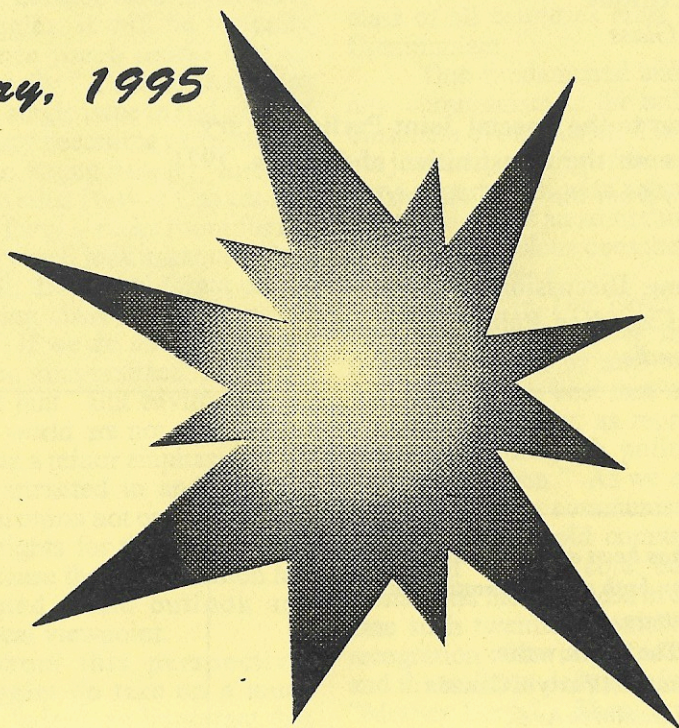


The
SPARK!

Political discussion bulletin

February, 1995



*published by the
Communist Party of Canada*

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The Spark has been expanded to include discussion on both programmatic and general political matters.

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Produced in-house

MORE ON MARXISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT

by Roger Perkins

In the September 1994 *Spark*, Kimball Cariou raises some very important points. He correctly reminds us that we have not yet made "...a systematic study of the growing global crisis of the environment" and that our new programme must contain "a Marxist analysis of the environmental crisis." He further goes on to state that if we do not do this properly we "...risk permanent political marginalization", and that if we do not "become more involved in environmental struggles, it will be virtually impossible to convince young people that we take their future seriously." Thus, according to comrade Cariou, this single issue in and of itself could result in our Party becoming permanently marginalized with no young people. In other words, move over Socialist Party of Canada and the Socialist Labour Party -- make room for us.

Many may very well look askance at this conclusion. After all, the central thrust of our work must be working class struggles, many economic in nature. If we do not do this, we certainly will become marginalized; there can be little doubt about that. But environmental struggles in today's world are not side issues, and deserve more than a minor emphasis in our work. People are attracted to and become members of an organization not only because it is on their side, or fights for their immediate interest, but also because that organization has a total, well-rounded world outlook and complete philosophical viewpoint.

Looked at from this perspective, environmental struggles do take on a much greater importance. Indeed, so important that they cannot just be dealt with in a number of paragraphs in a new programme, but must be posed and placed within a theoretical framework that corresponds to the historical period in which we now find ourselves.

Whether we fully realize it yet or not, we do live in a new historical period. The old world and the old ways are gone -- forever. There is

no longer a mighty socialist camp stretching across eleven time zones. Capitalism holds sway throughout much of the world. All the negative aspects of capitalism are now being exacerbated -- polarization of wealth, exploitation, fierce competition and the drive towards war (even nuclear war), and the devastation of the environment in the struggle for maximum profits. Capitalism, although closer to its own end, has established a New World Order. The working class of all countries must counter with a New Communism.

One fundamental and integral part of the new communism is the militant defence of the biosphere of our planet. This new communism is not just the greening of the old communism. It is not a watermelon with a green outside and a red inside. Nor is it an admixture of the red with the green (What colour does that make? Purple?) It is something new.

Lenin, in *The Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism*, showed that Marxism itself arose out of and was "the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy, and French socialism." As we enter the twenty-first century, the new communism will be comprised not only of the old communism -- Marxism-Leninism -- as its core, but also the best that humankind has produced in the twentieth century. One such twentieth century contribution is the recognition of the importance of the environment, and the militant defence of what has been called "Mother Earth". There are other sources and components making up the new communism, but the struggle to save the biosphere is certainly a very important one. By its very nature, capitalism is incapable of protecting the environment. It is the societal equivalent of cancer; it must expand or die! And die it will when the people of the world, led by the working class and its party, pierce its vampire heart with a wooden stake.

(Yes, some trees will be cut down to make the stake, but it is necessary!)

In summary, environmentalism must not be mechanically grafted on to our present programme but must be viewed in a theoretical

context that corresponds to new historical conditions. It will become one with us, and us one with it, not by mixing or veneering, but by a dialectical fusion.

DO UNIONS DIVIDE OR UNIFY?

by Louise Mayhill

I have belonged to and been active in unions for many years. I will speak from my own experience. I have been struggling with this question for a long time. Do unions divide or unify?

In many ways, in my opinion, unions divide from within. That has to be changed. We need our unions now more than ever. We have to make them work for working people in order to make the gains so necessary in our society and our workplaces. We have to change the way union structures and the leadership make decisions. They must be made in the best interest of the members, not just so as to protect union turf. The leaders and structures seem more concerned with protecting their turf than protecting their members. The leadership is always able to find a reason for a member who needs help to get it only on their terms, to find some rule saying why they cannot get help. If a member wants to give help, but not on their terms, that is not permitted either, except only by the most enlightened leadership.

For those of you who are not familiar with a union structure, it is usually made up of one large union, usually divided into smaller locals. The locals have autonomy from the large union and from other unions. This means that local problems are to be solved by the local. If the leadership can't solve a problem, they then go to the main union or head office, or to staff representatives for help. /sounds good. Really, though, if the local representatives either don't believe you have a problem, or if your problem is one they feel is not deserving of attention, or if the local does not have the skill to help and they don't pass it on to head office, you are out of luck. If you complain to anyone (your local,

your own union head office, other unions, the media, etc.) you are often considered anti-union. The leadership silences anyone they want, one by one by one.

Unions first evolved with the trades (i.e., artisans, carpenters, brick layers, iron workers, etc.). The jobs for these workers were well guarded. Unions worked to fight for wage increases, job protection and better working conditions for their members. To protect their members, they zealously guarded and protected any jobs available for their members, and their members only, as a means of ensuring increased membership and maintaining the members they already had, as well as ensuring that they always received dues from these members. Automatic dues check-off from pay cheques only came into effect in the last 20 or 30 years. The struggle to organize and unionize was arduous, often at the cost of lives, severe injury and loss of employment in the late 1800s and well into this century. It is still a struggle, perhaps not as often with loss of life; but the threat of loss of employment, and actual loss of employment, are not unusual.

The world and employment have changed since these earlier times, but unions and their structures have been slow to change with the times. A wrong against a member by omission, lack of skill, or any denial of support results in a weakness in the union and a wrong to the member(s).

Unions are as diverse as their members and this diversity makes crossing local and union lines very difficult. The more unions are able to unite across local and union boundaries, and even across community groups, the stronger unions will become. We as workers face multinational

capitalism which knows no boundaries and has no moral concern for workers or the environment. If there were ever a time for the barriers to come down within unions in order to support workers, now is the time.

I believe we live in a world of plenty (materials, food, work, etc.). But as long as only a small portion of the population, the capitalists,

control how this plenty is distributed, for most workers our world will be one of scarcity and struggle. The phrase, "Workers of all Lands Unite", has never been more true than it is today. We must find ways of struggling together towards our common goals. Union turfs must be workers' turfs, not just locals' turfs.

ULTRA-LEFTIST ANTI-CENSORSHIP: A BRIEF CRITIQUE

by Marvin Glass

What is to be done about racism and sexism? Fight them, but not, even in part, through state censorship, say some of the left. Why not?

First, racism. The working class, it is said, cannot trust the bourgeois state to silence racists. That state, through its structures and primary agents, is basically a power centre for monopoly capitalists; its executive, said Marx was "nothing but a committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie." And capitalism, if it didn't actually invent racism, certainly profits from it, continually nourishes and maintains it, and supports its worst fascist excesses. Demands that the capitalist state censor racists will therefore backfire and lead to silencing progressive, and especially socialist, critiques of capitalism's racist class rule.

In the current debate over what to do about the proliferation of pornography, some members of the anti-censorship side have put forward a feminist version of the preceding argument. They warn that by invoking the criminal justice system to censor porn, we are appealing to forces which are beyond our control and which, given the present political climate, may well get out of hand. How can feminists be entrusting the patriarchal state with the task of legally distinguishing permissible from impermissible images?

A similar, but more Marxist-looking argument about pornography and against

censorship appeared in the British trotskyist journal, *International Socialism* (Summer, 1991). Sharon Smith, after quoting Marx and Engels on the class nature of the state, concludes that:

the state contributes to the oppression of women through its role as the enforcer of the prevailing level of class exploitation. [Thus] any strengthening of the state is a strengthening of the means of repression of the working class... The point for socialists -- indeed for all those interested in women's liberation -- is to weaken the hold of the state over worker's individual lives, not to strengthen it. liberal democratic values such as freedom of speech, scorned by [some radical feminists], strengthen the ability of workers to organize against their exploitation and oppression. Lenin put this clearly in *State and Revolution* when he wrote: "We are in favour of a democratic republic as the best form of state for the proletariat under capitalism."

What all three anti-censorship arguments have in common, I suggest, is an ultra-leftist approach to the issue of state censorship. I'll concentrate here on the trotskvist version.

First, what do the classics have to say about the issue? Smith's Lenin quotation is taken from the latter's endorsement of Marx's critique of the idea of "a free people's state", a slogan which figured prominently in the Gotha Program or the German Social Democratic Party of the 1870s. There is no mention by either Marx or Lenin of free speech here, and neither would support an absolute defence of it or any other democratic value. But then liberal theorists (including John Stuart Mill), who contributed many progressive ideas about expression and its protection, themselves never supported unlimited expression. And the democratic republics referred to by Lenin, including the United States, all had and now have state censorship, including laws against libel, sedition, blackmail, false or misleading advertising, and obscenity.

Secondly, although Smith rightly worries about state control over workers, her rejection of censorship fits nicely into the neo-conservative agenda because it amounts to an endorsement of the complete privatization of films, books, magazines, etc., with sexual themes. If the state makes no laws here, then capitalist market forces will determine content and cost. And we already see the result -- **pornographer's** control over the lives of girls, boys, and women and the commodification of the eroticization of paedophilia, rape, assault, domination, and degradation.

No doubt, support for criminal code sanctions against pornography means that, for the foreseeable future, there will be some censorship of **unobjectionable** gay, lesbian, and heterosexual erotica. But why should we believe that this consequence makes things worse overall

than the no-censorship market scenario which, like-it-or-not, follows from an ultra-leftist approach to the state? We are talking about a multi-billion dollar industry; how can and why should women be expected to fight it out in the marketplace against this crap?

Thirdly, the issue is never one of **trusting** any capitalist state or **turning over** to it carte blanche the means of repression of the working class. For Marxists today, politics includes promoting pro-feminist and anti-racist coalitions which confront the state and **force** it to enact some progressive laws against pornography and expressions of racism, laws whose overall effect is to improve the safety and status of members of oppressed groups. Recognizing the class, misogynist, and racist character of the modern state certainly commits one to predicting that victories here will be impossible without organization and struggle, but it doesn't imply that they are all unreachable except in post-capitalist societies. The modern bourgeois state is clearly very strong, but it's not all-powerful. History has proved that reform struggles in many areas of social life often succeed. To deny this is to disparage centuries of reforms and reformers.

A parallel with health care may be instructive. We in Canada have universal medicare organized and administered by the Canadian capitalist state. Americans, thanks to Clinton's vacillation and \$100 million ad campaign of lies and distortions by the giant insurance corporations, do not. Thus, in the United States rich and poor alike are 'free' to subscribe or refrain from subscribing to the medical plan of their choice. Should progressive Americans therefore oppose all forms of public health care on the grounds that they increase state control over people's lives?

SUBMISSION TO THE SPECIAL JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION OF CANADA, 1971

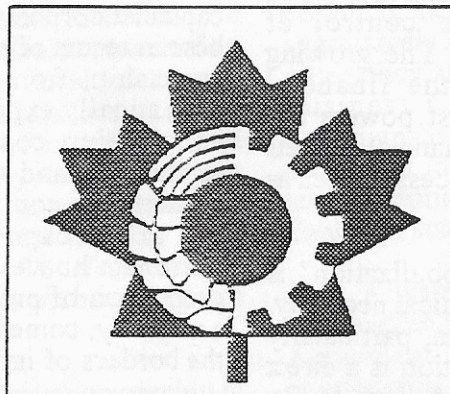
Excerpts from the Communist Party's Brief

...The framework of the British North America Act [now the Constitution Act] is also profoundly inimical to the interests of the people of the English-Canadian nation.

The treatment of Quebec as one of 10 provinces, rather than as the homeland of a nation, in the context of the mounting French-Canadian demand for the right to self-determination, has given rise to a tendency on the part of the English-Canadian provinces to push their own jurisdictional and fiscal claims to the uttermost limit. We have no doubt that this tendency reflects in part the "empire building" aspirations of certain provincial politicians, who are also only too eager to secure a free hand for the sell-out of more provincial resources to U.S. corporations. But irrespective of the motivation, the justified demands of Quebec provide at least the pretext for these demands from provinces which are part of the English-Canadian nation.

The result is at best the constant manoeuvring and "buck passing" which has characterized federal-provincial conferences, and at worst the fragmentation of English Canada.

But all this runs counter to the basic social and economic needs of the people of English Canada. Those needs demand effective central taxation of the large corporations located in Ontario, and the establishment of equal and steadily improving access to the best educational and health facilities, as well as the institution of other necessary social reforms. This must be achieved without infringing in any way on the rights of French Canada to self-determination.



But reforms in this direction which are necessary to the proper social development of a modern state are rendered impossible by the failure to recognize that Quebec is the homeland of a nation, and not simply one of 10 like provinces.

In other words, the whole complex of relationships between Ottawa, the English-Canadian provinces and municipalities are capable of adjustment in the interests of the people only when it is recognized that there exists an English-Canadian nation distinct from a French-Canadian nation. Otherwise the problems of regional disparity, of totally inadequate financial resources in the great urban centres will remain and deepen.

NOTES ON CANADIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

by R.J. Rendle

- The international expansion of capitalism is not new, but since the 1960s there has been a massive increase in the internationalization of capitalist exchange and production. This has been facilitated by technological revolutions in telecommunications and transportation, but its economic base is the continued concentration and centralization of capital on a world scale under the control of transnational corporations. The growing mass of capital held by the financial oligarchies of the imperialist powers has increased the integration of financial markets and numerous production processes, such as the "world car."
- Imperialist-driven "globalization" is being determined not by technical necessity, but by capitalist accumulation, particularly to increase profit. Globalization is a direct attack on labour at home and abroad. By exporting capital big capitalists extend their exploitation through lower wages, contracting out, fewer democratic inhibitions (deregulation), the privatization of public property, and natural resource plunder. Globalization is not inevitable. It is possible to have a freer flow internationally of information and technology, etc. without the imperialist ownership and exchange relationships. Indeed, the struggle for democratic sovereignty and the ending of imperialist globalization is a necessary part of the struggle for socialism.
- The central conduit of capitalist exploitation under capitalism has become the transnational corporation. The largest transnationals now own and control production greater than that of many national governments. Initially, the monopoly capitalist corporations had a largely national base in terms of production and controlling ownership; from their domestic base they dramatically expanded the export of capital and foreign control of natural resource production and transportation. In recent decades, the controlling ownership remains tied to the capitalist classes of particular nations; however, a much increased proportion of production and profits, often a majority, comes from exploitation beyond the borders of its national base.
- Imperialism is moving to ever larger capitalist blocs and centres of power, of which the most powerful are centred in North America, Europe, and Japan. Transnational-driven pressures for capitalist integration, such as NAFTA and the European Community, which are behind schemes for supranational government and supranational, permanent military organizations. Such schemes have invariably weakened democratic controls

over the state power, especially its executive branch. Whatever democratic rights the working people have won are most established at the level of national states and depend on the exercise of democratic sovereignty. The struggle for the democratic sovereignty of states clashes directly with the interests of the transnationals.

- The growth of free trade zones and the liberalization of capitalist relations does not mean the end of interimperialist rivalry or war, of the emergence of a peaceful, regulated, or stable imperialist order (or "ultraimperialism"). Imperialist powers have been united in their hostility to socialism and national liberation; though there have been liberal versus conservative/carrot versus stick-type differences on tactics. And as long as there is general resistance to imperialism, there will be points on which the imperialist powers find unity. However, uneven development at a world level is becoming more glaring, which is a guarantee of instability and rivalry. In fact, among the imperialist powers, the intensity of rivalry is increasing, as is their inclination to use military force outside their borders. The "new world order" of imperialism has not become more stable or more peaceful.

- The problem of foreign ownership in the Canadian economy, which had long undermined Canada's economic and political independence, increased sharply in the second half of the twentieth century. Trade and debt dependence on Britain before World War I was replaced with an even more debilitating dependence on U.S. capital and technology in later decades. The result has been a massive and growing outflow of profits, interest, fees, and other transfers that stifles new development, jobs,

and research in Canada, adds to the burden of exploitation on the working class, and eases the political penetration of U.S. imperialism in Canada. Foreign transnationals augmented previous pressures for the exploitation of Canadian natural resources, especially in northern areas of Canada, and encouraged further attacks on the land claims and sovereign rights of First Nation peoples.

- At the same time, Canadian corporations sharply increased their export of capital, especially since the 1970s. Canadian transnationals in mining, manufacturing, and finance also participated in the predatory superexploitation of poor countries, where dictatorial and racist regimes have weakened and banned unions and opposed decent labour standards. Dramatic changes in transportation and communications accelerated this trend. Canadian monopoly capital, which was becoming increasingly powerful, moved more aggressively into determining the direction of state policy, through such organizations as the Business Council on National Issues. Canadian-based transnationals, which are prominent in such areas as finance, mining, telecommunications, and transport, dominate Canadian state policy.

- A watershed in Canadian state policy was reached with the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, and GATT. These international treaties are not primarily treaties about the free trade of commodities but about the unhindered movement of transnational corporations and, with it, the reduction of the sovereign power of the Canadian government. Canadian transnationals and their neoconservative political allies were the major force behind the treaties, but virtually all major sections of the Canadian capitalist class fell in line. By contrast, opposition to these treaties was strong among the labour movement and other organizations of working

people with the clear recognition that they threatened jobs, social programs, and Canadian democratic sovereignty.

- The Canadian capitalist class has shifted overwhelmingly towards extending the continentalist integration of the Canadian and U.S. economies into a common market. A certain rivalry still exists between Canadian and U.S. capitalists, which appears from time to time in trade or other regulatory disputes as well as certain questions of international policy. But the extent of Canadian capitalist trade and investment in the U.S., U.S. foreign control of the Canadian economy, and the transnationalization of the core elements of Canadian capitalism has eliminated most of the economic base for a Canadian capitalist class which would exert serious support for increased Canadian sovereignty and independent economic development. Canadian imperialism's collaboration in the G7, the IMF, and other imperialist clubs, in the U.S. imperialist Gulf War and intervention in Somalia, and in support of GATT are expressions of its continued commitment to the imperialist rule of transnational corporations at home and abroad not to democratic Canadian sovereignty.

- Historically, the range of state activity in Canada has expanded with the development of capitalism, particularly in areas of economic management and statistics, education and science, and social programs. The extent and character of such activities has changed from period to period depending on economic conditions and the pressures workers are able to exert against the capitalist. However, the core, primary function of the capitalist state, which overrides and suffuses all other state activities, remains the defence of the private property and exploitative power of the

capitalist class. The neoconservative attacks on the social welfare activities of the state in favour of openly oppressive and anti-labour activities, reveal increasingly the class nature of the capitalist state.

- Since the mid-1970s, the real wages for most workers in Canada have fallen or, at best, stagnated while the intensity and, often, the length of work has increased. Thus, capitalism has created a situation where there is, on the one hand, mass unemployment and desperation for jobs while, on the other, there is overwork and intensified exploitation. The tendency to create a maldistribution of work is an inherent contradiction of capitalism.

- Public debt and international debt jumped dramatically, to the point where federal and provincial governments were subject increasingly to the lending decisions of the world's most powerful centres of finance capital in the US and Japan. Sharply increased government borrowing abroad coupled with the already extreme level of foreign ownership—the highest by far among the developed capitalist countries and many less developed countries—made Canada's international indebtedness a central element of the economic crisis in Canada. The Canadian dollar and balance of payments are unstable and continuously threatened by collapse. Foreign indebtedness has already seriously compromised Canada's sovereignty and lowered Canadian living standards; it is now pushing Canada into relative decline, towards the status of a dependent low-income country, with increased capitalist pressure for economic and political absorption into the U.S.

- The massive national debt burden has been exacerbated by and is the immediate responsibility of right-wing state policies,

high interest rates, corporate tax cuts and giveaways, and higher unemployment, which reduced tax revenues and increased social program costs. But underlying these anti-worker state policies were fundamental trends and crises in capitalism that all relate to the fundamental contradiction in capitalism between private, increasingly concentrated ownership and social production.

- First is the general trend of capitalist accumulation and impoverishment, a process that is being exacerbated by the new scientific and technological revolution. On the one hand, there is the increasing concentration and centralization of capital and wealth, especially in the hands of the transnational corporations; on the other hand, there is the increased long-term unemployment and impoverishment of workers.

- Second, the unplanned anarchy of capitalism and the increased internationalization of capital and technological revolution, has led to the rise of particular industries and decline of others. Facilitated by free trade treaties, such restructuring has added to dislocation and unemployment in Canada and deepened the conditions of crisis.

- Third, the acute, periodic cyclical crises of overproduction that beset capitalism, have become more serious since the 1940s and now threaten to become chronic in most of the capitalist world. The moderate levels of growth current in Canada and most capitalist countries are incapable of creating the jobs necessary to end mass unemployment. Neither are liberal pump-priming policies capable of achieving this goal, though such reforms are more desirable for the working class than neoconservative

austerity.

- The trend of neoconservatism is seen everywhere the transnationals rule. Neoconservatism is not simply a "policy" of capitalist states, but a fundamental trend that reflects the profound crisis into which capitalism is mired. Reforms to control the free movement of capital and weaken the power of the transnationals can limit some of the worst effects of the present crisis. But the general trend can only be reversed by working class power and solved by socialism.

- The working class has become, overwhelmingly, the largest class in advanced capitalist society (in Canada, now over 85 percent of those with money incomes). The working class is comprised of all those who do not own means of production and, consequently, depend for their livelihood on selling their labour-power for a wage or salary. The historical core of the modern working class is among the manual or blue collar workers, skilled and unskilled, men, women, and children in the factories, resource, and transportation enterprises that emerged from the Industrial Revolution.

- As capitalist industrialization expanded into new areas of exploitation, the working class encompassed men and women in other industries and occupations, particularly the growing numbers of clerical, technical, and professional workers that emerged with the expansion of big business and the state. The spread of public education, which increased the supply of literate workers, the increased use of lower-paid women in clerical functions, and the mechanization and computerization of clerical work, reduced the once privileged wages and status of "white collar"

employees and gave an industrial character to much office work.

- Capitalism will never even out occupational inequalities or unfairness among workers--it creates and profits from such division. On the one hand, to cheapen the cost of labour, capitalism has often deskilled and degraded work and increased the separation between manual and mental activities. A large portion of the working class remains tied to drudgery and menial activities. On the other hand, the technical and scientific demands of capitalist growth have also led to new skills and levels of proficiency, and raised average training and educational requirements so as to reduce the manual/mental division in some activities. A polarization of skills and lopsided division of labour is constantly being inflicted on working people. By its nature, capitalism is incapable of planning or organizing a fair or healthy division of economic tasks.

- Whether working by hand or by brain, whether skilled or unskilled, whether male or female, whatever the national background, race, age, region, or sexual orientation, the workers are subjected directly or indirectly to capitalist exploitation and the capitalist social hierarchy. Capitalism is based fundamentally upon this class inequality, an inequality which is bound to, reinforces, and reproduces other social inequalities. Neither this class inequality nor any of the social inequalities of gender, race, nation, age, or disability can be ended without ending capitalism itself; hence, the struggle against such inequalities will never find a lasting solution unless they are taken up from the perspective of the working class struggle for socialism. However, the struggle against such inequalities is also a necessary part of the building of working-class unity and the winning of socialism. Indeed, without

making such questions an essential element of the working class struggle, the struggle for socialism can be lost and communism will never be achieved.

- Overall, when compared to the 1940s the actual power of Canadian working class relative to the capitalist class has declined. While there were such successes as winning improvement in wages and conditions and in public sector organization, there was gradually growing unemployment, insecurity, and intensity of work. There was also the still low level of unionization in many sectors, particularly the rapidly growing service sectors, the aggressive, concentrated power of the capitalist mass media, and persisting divisions on the national question, gender, and race, all of which significantly weakened the working class.

- In addition to the damage done directly by the capitalist class were decades of right-wing social democratic and anti-communist politics and class collaborationist practices within the labour movement which weakened the class independence of the working class. The workers' movement has been seriously hurt by the heavy political legacy of corporate and government cooptation in tripartite and bipartite schemes, by the growth of the material privileges of leadership, by outright corruption and patronage, and by bureaucratic approaches to union action. There has been a distancing of leaders from members, and the authoritarian methods of the boss have too often replaced union democracy and rank and file initiative.

- However, while the working class in Canada is actually weaker in historical terms relative to capital, its potential power is greater. Its numbers are greater. It

surpassed socially and environmentally reasonable levels of consumption and who have resisted most fiercely any encroachment on their ownership and consumption, while contentedly impoverishing others. The premise that the earth's resources should be shared either equally or even according to need by all humanity is daily violated by capitalism. Further, imperialism profits enormously from its exploitation of the earth's resources and has created a global structure in which a small group of imperialist states, particularly their wealthiest people, consume a grossly disproportionate share of the earth's resources.

- It is known that in many areas of production, the productive capacity is more than adequate to supply the entire needs of society. To struggle against the exorbitant and destructive consumption of the rich and capitalist consumerism does not diminish the devastation of poverty or the need to protect

the living standards of working people. Quite the contrary, such an approach means that unending capitalist growth is not a solution: the focus of struggle must shift to the distribution and priorities of capitalist production and, hence, against capitalist ownership and control.

- Capitalism has changed humanity's relationship with nature. Its exploitative class orientation has established values of domination and short-term advantage rather than respect, understanding, and sharing in the long-term interests of humanity. The commercialism, incentive structure, and social values that capitalism promotes, as reflected in the "dollar culture" and consumerism, are hostile to both social well-being and the environment. Capitalism needs to be eliminated not simply to alter the character and priorities of material growth, but to sweep away capitalist thinking about society and the environment.

Notes: